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BY THE U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Report To The Chairman Subcommittee On Select Education House Committee On Education And Labor

Sexual Exploitation Of Children-- A Problem Of Unknown Magnitude

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Although the number of teenage prostitutes in the United States could not be determined, State, city, and police officials generally believe the problem has increased over the past 5 years. Likewise, the number of children involved in pornography could not be determined. In this case, only State officials indicated that the problem had increased over the past 5 years; city and police officials generally believed the problem had remained about the same.

Services to help teenage prostitutes or children involved in pornography change their lives are often available through special programs or local social service agencies. Some children may be referred to these services by police or special program outreach workers. Others must seek out such services on their own.

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APRIL 20, 1982

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HUMAN RESOURCES
DIVISION

B-207117

The Honorable Austin J. Murphy
Chairman, Subcommittee on Select
Education
Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In response to your March 16, 1981, request and later discussions with your office, we have developed information on (1) teenage prostitution and child pornography and (2) Federal, State, and local efforts to deal with these problems.

As discussed with your office, we did not take the additional time needed to obtain agency comments on the matters discussed in this report.

We are sending copies of this report to the Director, Office of Management and Budget; the Secretary of Health and Human Services; the Attorney General; and other interested parties.

Sincerely yours,

Gregory J. Ahart
Director

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GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE
REPORT TO THE CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT
EDUCATION, HOUSE COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN--A PROBLEM OF UNKNOWN MAGNITUDE

D I G E S T

The Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Education, House Committee on Education and Labor, asked GAO to provide information on teenage prostitution and child pornography and Federal, State, and local efforts to deal with these problems.

GAO made an extensive literature search and sent questionnaires to all 50 States, 3 territories, and the police departments and mayors' offices of the 22 largest U.S. cities. GAO also developed detailed information on teenage prostitution and child pornography in Los Angeles and New York City. (See pp. 28 to 52.)

THE EXTENT OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY REMAINS UNCERTAIN

GAO's literature search revealed a wide range of estimates on the number of children involved in prostitution or pornography. The estimates were based on "gut hunches" and an assumption that teenagers constitute a given percentage of all prostitutes. GAO could not use the questionnaires to estimate the number of children involved in prostitution or pornography nationally because the responses were incomplete and several cities and large States did not respond.

However, officials of States, cities, and police departments responding to GAO's questionnaire generally believed the number of teenage prostitutes had increased during the past 5 years. None indicated that the problem had decreased. Regarding child pornography, State officials said they believed the number of children involved over the past 5 years had increased, while city and police department officials said the number had remained about the same.

Tear Sheet

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HRD-82-64
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WHY YOUNG PEOPLE BECOME PROSTITUTES OR SUBJECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY

Many teenage female prostitutes are products of a poor home environment characterized by violence, lack of parental love and affection, and drug and alcohol abuse. Many have been the victims of sexual abuse, including incest and rape, and have experienced physical abuse and neglect at home. They often see prostitution as a life of adventure, glamour, and excitement and as an easy way to earn money. Many have run away from home and are dependent on their income from prostitution for survival.

A recent study of juvenile prostitution stated that many male teenage prostitutes are gay identified and become prostitutes as a way of exploring their homosexuality. They consider themselves entrepreneurs, entertainers, and sexually desirable partners. Most are not dependent on their prostitution income for survival. Other studies, in contrast, indicate that male prostitutes are often runaways who are not necessarily gay, but who have to sell their bodies as a means of survival.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN

Studies show that many teenage female prostitutes come from low socioeconomic backgrounds, have done poorly in school, have a poor self-image, have limited job opportunities, and do not enjoy their lives as prostitutes.

Some male prostitutes, according to a study, claim to enjoy prostitution and have a positive self-image. Another study characterizes male prostitutes as usually 8 to 17 years of age, underachievers in school or at home, without previous homosexual activity, underdeveloped physically, from a low-income background, and lacking parental supervision.

Literature shows that children involved in pornography generally range in age from 8 to 16, although some under 8 have reportedly been involved. These children often come from unstable or broken homes; have done poorly in school; lack a loving, attentive home environment; and have been subjected to abuse and neglect.

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EFFECTS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION ON CHILDREN

Studies have shown that some women noted both positive and negative effects or changes in their lives as a result of having been juvenile prostitutes. The positive effects consisted of general changes, such as becoming "more experienced" and "more mature." The negative effects included a loss of self-respect, feeling of shame or guilt, difficulty in adjusting to a life outside of prostitution, and emotional damage. Children involved in pornography can be psychologically scarred and suffer emotional distress for life. They may see themselves as objects to be sold rather than people who are important.

SERVICES FOR SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN

Many of the services--such as counseling, crisis intervention, shelter, and job training--that sexually exploited children will need if they wish to leave the life of prostitution or pornography are available through special programs or social service agencies. A few children may be referred to service providers as a result of their contact with police. Even fewer may be contacted by special program outreach workers who mingle among prostitutes with the hope of persuading them to receive services to help them leave the life of prostitution. Children who do not come into contact with the police or outreach workers must seek out such services on their own. This would normally happen through contacts with social service workers.

Youths involved in prostitution or pornography may receive services from three primary sources:

--Shelters exclusively for teenage prostitutes.

--Shelters not exclusively for prostitutes but frequently used by teenage prostitutes.

--Social service agencies.

While the types of service providers differ, teenage prostitutes can receive similar services from all three sources. The services are designed to meet the person's physical and emotional needs. Funding to support these programs may come from Federal, State, county, or private sources.

Tear Sheet

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Although others may exist, GAO identified only four shelters exclusively for teenage prostitutes. A number of other shelters are available to a wide range of troubled youths.

Responses to GAO's questionnaire indicate that local jurisdictions offer a wide variety of social services to anyone, including youths involved in prostitution or pornography, who meet relevant eligibility criteria.

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GLOSSARY

Pandering the procuring of another person for the purpose of prostitution

Pedophile an adult with an abnormal sexual desire for children

Pimping knowingly living off the earnings of a prostitute

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On March 16, 1981, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Select Education, House Committee on Education and Labor, asked us to provide information on teenage prostitution and child pornography and Federal, State, and local efforts to deal with these problems.

THE CONGRESS HAS SHOWN INTEREST IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

The Congress has shown concern about the problems of sexual exploitation of children by holding hearings in 1977 and ultimately passing the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977 (Pub. L. No. 95-225). This law represents the most significant recent congressional legislation addressing child sexual exploitation. The 1977 hearings were held by two subcommittees in the House and one in the Senate.

The Subcommittee on Select Education attempted to determine how large the problem was and how best to care for children involved in prostitution and pornography. Testimony before the Subcommittee from legislators, law enforcement officials, social workers, authors, and others indicated that no one knew for sure how many children were involved.

Although many witnesses testified that Federal involvement to combat child prostitution and pornography was needed, several expressed concern that restrictions on proposed antipornography legislation would violate First Amendment rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Subcommittee on Crime, House Committee on the Judiciary, also sought to determine how extensive the problem was, whether existing Federal and State laws were comprehensive enough to control these practices, and whether such laws were being enforced. The Subcommittee concluded that Federal criminal sanctions were appropriate and necessary for individuals (1) inducing children to participate in pornographic activities for commercial purposes and (2) transporting children interstate for purposes of prostitution.

In addition, the 1977 hearings and investigations of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, led to several conclusions:

--Child pornography and child prostitution have become highly organized, multimillion-dollar industries that operate nationwide.

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--The use of children as prostitutes or as the subjects of pornographic materials is very harmful to both the children and society as a whole.

--Such prostitution and the sale and distribution of such pornographic materials are carried on substantially through the mails and other instrumentalities of interstate and foreign commerce.

--Existing Federal laws dealing with prostitution and pornography did not protect against the use of children in these activities, and specific legislation in this area was advisable and needed.

On January 24, 1978, the House overwhelmingly demonstrated its support for stiff criminal sanctions against those who sexually exploit children for commercial purposes by approving the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977 by a vote of 401-0. The Senate approved the measure on a voice vote.

OBJECTIVES, SCOPE, AND METHODOLOGY

Our review of teenage prostitution and child pornography was directed toward

--obtaining information on the number of children involved in teenage prostitution and the number used as subjects in pornographic materials;

--identifying Federal, State, and local efforts, including research and treatment programs, to deal with these problems;

--determining common characteristics of children involved in prostitution and pornography, including how and why they became involved; and

--reviewing the problems and efforts in New York City and Los Angeles to combat these problems.

To develop statistical information on the incidence of teenage prostitution and child pornography, we reviewed various books, studies, articles, and congressional hearings on the subject. We obtained from officials in various Federal, State, and local government agencies their perceptions and available data on these problems. Similar information was obtained from officials of private organizations helping children involved in prostitution and pornography. We did not verify the statements, facts, and figures provided by these officials. We also attended two conferences on the sexual exploitation of children.

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To determine what Federal programs deal with child sexual exploitation, we contacted Federal agencies with or likely to have programs, grants, or interests in the problems of teenage prostitution and child pornography, and we obtained information on current Federal grants and studies on these subjects.

To determine what programs the States have to protect children and adolescents from sexual exploitation, we sent questionnaires to all 50 States, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. The questionnaires asked (1) what was the extent of child prostitution and pornography and the incidence of these problems over the past 5 years, (2) what research they had conducted on these subjects, and (3) what social service programs they had to serve children involved.

To determine what programs local governments have to combat teenage prostitution and child pornography, we sent questionnaires to the mayors and police departments of all 22 U.S. cities with a population of over 500,000. The questionnaire sent to the cities was similar to the one sent to the States.

The questionnaires were developed in accordance with our technical standards. They were pretested with several State, city, and police officials for relevancy, comprehensiveness, and accuracy. Modifications were based on the pretest results and the recommendations of pretest participants.

Police departments, in addition to being asked to provide much of the same information as the States, were also asked for information on juveniles taken into custody who were engaged in prostitution or were the subjects of pornography.

As discussed with the Subcommittee, we also obtained information on the problems of teenage prostitution and child pornography and programs to combat the problems in New York City and Los Angeles.

Our review was made in accordance with GAO's current "Standards for Audit of Governmental Organizations, Programs, Activities, and Functions."

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CHAPTER 2

THE EXTENT OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY REMAINS UNCERTAIN

The literature contained a wide range of estimates on the extent of teenage prostitution nationally. Officials of States, cities, and police departments provided estimates on the magnitude of the problem within their jurisdictions, but we were not able to obtain reliable information on the extent of the problem nationally. However, these officials, who represent 21 States, 15 cities, and 18 police departments, generally believe the number of teenage prostitutes has increased over the last 5 years.

Similarly, a literature review did not reveal any reliable data on the number of children who were subjects of pornography. State officials responding to our questionnaire believe the problem had increased over the last 5 years, while others at the local level thought the number of children involved had remained about the same. Commercially produced child pornography has declined since 1977.

ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTES VARY WIDELY

The estimates of the number of teenage male and female prostitutes in the literature we reviewed, and from people with whom we spoke, ranged from the "tens of thousands" to 2.4 million. Questionnaires sent to the States, the 22 largest cities, and the police departments within those cities did not provide sufficient data for us to estimate the magnitude of the problem nationally because the responses were incomplete and officials of several large States and cities did not respond.

Estimates in the literature are based on general perceptions of the teenage prostitution problem. The author of the book "For Love or Money: Boy Prostitution in America," published in 1976, used a working figure of 300,000 boy prostitutes, a figure he described as a "gut hunch." Using this 300,000 figure, the president of the Odyssey Institute, a child advocacy organization, reasons that the number of teenage female prostitutes at least equals the number of male prostitutes. The Institute's president estimated that only half of the true number of prostitutes is known, thus bringing the total to 1.2 million. On top of that, it was estimated that the figure nearly doubles when 16- and 17-year-olds are added, making the total number of juvenile prostitutes 2.4 million. (The Institute's president assumed that this age group was not included in the 300,000 estimate.)

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The Criminal Justice Institute, Inc., estimates that there are 450,000 prostitutes nationwide. Assuming that 20 to 25 percent of these prostitutes are juveniles, it arrives at a figure of between 90,000 and 112,500 teenage prostitutes. The president of a New York City shelter for runaways and homeless youths puts the number of teenage prostitutes nationwide in the "tens of thousands."

The chart below presents the results of our questionnaire but does not give a complete overview of the problem because some of the more populous jurisdictions did not provide estimates. For example, estimates were not provided by the States of California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Texas; cities of New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago; and police departments from Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Boston. In addition, several smaller jurisdictions also did not provide estimates.

	Number of juridictions providing estimates	Total estimated teenage prostitutes	Range of estimates for each type of jurisdiction
States/territories	21	5,426	5 - 1,500
Cities	14	5,465	13 - 2,000
Police departments	14	7,955	35 - 3,600

TEENAGE PROSTITUTION HAS INCREASED DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS

Officials from the States, cities, and police departments responding to our questionnaire generally believed the number of teenage prostitutes had increased during the last 5 years. The chart below summarizes the officials' estimates of the teenage prostitution trend over the last 5 years.

	Number of State estimates		Number of city estimates		Number of police department estimates	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
Over the past 5 years teenage prostitution has:						
Greatly increased	5	4	3	2	6	4
Somewhat increased	9	10	6	4	7	8
Remained about the same	7	7	6	9	5	6
Somewhat decreased	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greatly decreased	-	-	-	-	-	-

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We find it significant that none of the 54 respondents believed the number of male or female teenage prostitutes had decreased over the last 5 years. Most of the States, cities, and police departments that did not provide an estimate of the number of teenage prostitutes also declined to estimate the trend of the problem.

ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO WERE SUBJECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY

Our literature review revealed only one estimate of the number of children who participate annually in pornographic productions. In a newspaper interview, the president of the Odyssey Institute estimated that as many as 3,000 children nationwide participate in such productions. She did not explain how this number was determined.

Officials responding to our questionnaire made the following estimates of the number of children who were the subjects of pornography during their latest recording years.

	Number of jurisdictions providing estimates	Total estimated children who were subjects of pornography	Range of estimates for each type of jurisdiction
States/territories	15	2,830	0 - 1,200
Cities	8	604	0 - 250
Police departments	9	1,185	0 - 280

As in the case of juvenile prostitutes, though, some of the larger jurisdictions did not provide estimates.

TRENDS IN CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

State officials estimated that the number of children who were the subjects of pornography had increased over the past 5 years. City and police officials, on the other hand, estimated that the number had remained fairly constant. The estimates are shown on the next page.

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	Number of State estimates		Number of city estimates		Number of police department estimates	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
Over the past 5 years the number of children who were subjects of pornography has:						
Greatly increased	1	2	-	-	-	1
Somewhat increased	9	9	2	3	2	3
Remained about the same	5	4	4	4	9	7
Somewhat decreased	-	-	2	1	2	2
Greatly decreased	-	-	-	-	-	-

While no consensus existed among responding State and local officials about whether the number of children used in pornographic productions had increased or decreased, literature and discussions with Federal, State, and local officials indicated that commercially produced pornography 1/ has declined.

The factors cited for this decline were (1) the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977, (2) tougher State laws covering child pornography, (3) stricter enforcement of obscenity laws involving child pornography, (4) media attention, (5) the tendency of juries to convict child pornographers more readily than adult pornographers, and (6) the banning in 1979 of child pornography in Sweden and Denmark, which had been the major overseas suppliers of child pornography. As a result of the decline in commercial child pornography, the principal Federal agencies responsible for enforcing laws covering the distribution of child pornography--the U.S. Customs Service and the U.S. Postal Service--do not consider child pornography a high priority.

Studies and law enforcement officials agree that much of the child pornography in existence today is produced and distributed underground through an informal but close-knit network of pedophiles. Their pornography is homemade, rather than commercially produced, and is traded, rather than sold.

CONCLUSION

Although actual numbers on the extent of teenage prostitution could not be determined, information obtained indicates that the problem has increased.

1/Pornography produced primarily to make a profit.

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As with teenage prostitution, a reliable number of children involved in child pornography could not be established. From the data we obtained concerning this problem, we cannot determine whether child pornography has increased or decreased over the past 5 years.

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CHAPTER 3

A LOOK AT SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN

Traditionally prostitution was believed to be the result of severe personality disorders and a form of compensating behavior in response to homosexuality, frigidity, or antagonism toward men. More recently, research has attributed entry into prostitution to a combination of psychological, social, environmental, and economic factors which can be characterized as a negative childhood experience.

Children who become involved in pornography frequently are enticed into it at an earlier age than those who become prostitutes by persons with whom they are acquainted. Some become involved for the same reasons older children become prostitutes.

WHY YOUNG PEOPLE BECOME PROSTITUTES

Our literature review showed that teenage female prostitutes are products of a poor home environment characterized by violence, lack of parental love and affection, and drug and alcohol abuse. Many have been the victims of sexual abuse, including incest and rape, and have experienced physical abuse and neglect at home. They see prostitution as a life of adventure, glamour, and excitement and as an easy way to earn money. Many are dependent on their income from prostitution for their survival. Some teenage girls run away from home and are enticed into prostitution by pimps, while others are lured into prostitution by friends.

A recent study of juvenile prostitution stated that some male teenage prostitutes are gay identified and become prostitutes as a means of exploring their homosexuality. They consider themselves entrepreneurs, entertainers, and sexually desirable partners.

Other studies say male prostitutes are not all gay, but are often runaways who have to sell their bodies as a means of survival. According to a police department official who attended a symposium on child tragedies, 1/ boys as young as age 7 who had run away from home sold their sexual services for as little as 25 cents to obtain money for food.

1/Betty Bosarge. "National Symposium: Police 'Handcuffed' Trying to Stop Nationwide Sex Abuse, Porno Rings Involving Children. 'Turn in America's Sacred Cows.'" Juvenile Justice Digest, Vol. 9, No. 24, December 23, 1981, p. 7.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTES

Studies show that many teenage female prostitutes have a poor self-image and do not enjoy their lives as prostitutes. Their negative self-images are probably the result of the sexual abuse many of them experienced as young girls. Their negative self-images are reinforced by the labeling they have received as "promiscuous," "runaways," or "delinquents."

Many female teenage prostitutes come from low socioeconomic backgrounds and have done poorly in school. They have few vocational skills and limited job opportunities. They harbor anger and hostility and are searching for independence. They may feel isolated and competitive toward other prostitutes.

According to a recent study on adolescent male prostitution, 1/ some teenage gay-identified male prostitutes claim to enjoy prostitution and have a positive self-image. They do not have pimps but operate as independent street hustlers or freelance call boys.

Another study 2/ characterized male prostitutes as usually 8 to 17 years of age, underachievers in school or at home, without previous homosexual activity, underdeveloped physically, from a low-income background, and having parents who are often absent either physically or psychologically from the home.

THE EFFECTS OF PROSTITUTION ON CHILDREN

Studies have shown that some women noted both positive and negative effects or changes in their lives as a result of having been juvenile prostitutes. One study said the positive effects consisted of general changes, such as becoming "more experienced" and "more mature." Another study said certain elements in the prostitutes' lives may satisfy unmet needs of affection, acceptance by peers, and male relationships that may have been lacking.

The negative effects included a loss of self-respect, feeling of shame and guilt, lack of self-worth, and poor family relationship. Another negative effect described by the director of "Chrysalis," a residential program in Denver to rehabilitate teenage prostitutes, was that many of the young women find it hard to adjust to a job with significantly lower pay than they earned from prostitution. Once a job is obtained and the adjustment is made, however, the women then fear their pasts will become known by

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1/Adolescent Male Prostitution: "A Study of Sexual Exploitation, Etiological Factors, and Runaway Behavior - Executive Summary," Urban and Rural Systems Associates, October 1981.

2/Geiser, Robert L. "Hidden Victims," Beacon Press, Boston, 1978.

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their employers and fellow employees. Another problem the director described was that young women who have been involved in prostitution later find themselves unable to maintain meaningful relationships with men. Although some young women are able to experience normal relationships and maintain careers, most cannot heal the emotional scars left by their involvement in prostitution.

Although not categorized as a negative or positive effect, one of the aforementioned studies said the prostitute, many times, does not really desire to leave the life on the streets and is unable to break the strong psychological ties she may have with her pimp. The study added that the juveniles may also find the elements of adventure and danger very appealing. The study went on to say there are few careers a teenager can enter that offer money comparable to that which can be made in prostitution.

GETTING INTO AND OUT OF TEENAGE PROSTITUTION--ACTUAL STORIES

To obtain firsthand information on teenage prostitution, we spoke with four teenage female ex-prostitutes who are presently either in the "Chrysalis" rehabilitation program in Denver or the "Project Crossover" in Milwaukee. The following stories told by the young girls describe (1) how they got into prostitution, (2) some aspects of life as a prostitute, and (3) how they got out of prostitution. To help keep their identities unknown, we have used fictitious names in relating their stories. The programs assisting these four ex-prostitutes are discussed on pages 19 and 20.

Ann

Ann grew up in a family of 11. She described her family as a happy middle class family until she was 12 years old, when her father died and her mother had a nervous breakdown.

At 13, as an eighth grader who liked school, Ann had to end her education because she was pregnant. She went to a home for unwed mothers and had her baby. She stayed in the home for about 2 years, and then her baby was taken away and placed in her grandmother's care. Ann was then placed in foster care institutions from which she often ran away because she believed they did not give her the stability she needed; instead she was bounced from one institution to another. She would run to her mother, uncles, or friends to get out of the institutions. Sometimes she would run to her child's father to get away from her mother.

When Ann ran away, the police would look for her. Whenever they found her, they would take her into custody, charge her as a runaway, and detain her until they could place her in another foster home. This happened 11 or 12 times.

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At 15, Ann ran away from another foster care institution. A counselor from the institution saw Ann in a store and tried to make her return. A man in the store "protected" her from the counselor and the two began dating. After a month, Ann fell in love with the man and moved in with him. He give her love, attention, and room and board. Eventually he told Ann it was time she did something for him. She felt obligated and did what he wanted.

Ann's first "trick" as a prostitute was set up by her boyfriend. She was 15 and very scared. She didn't like her first experience as a prostitute; however, she went through with it because she felt obligated to her boyfriend. She also liked the money.

After her first "trick" Ann was placed on the street by her boyfriend (now her pimp). She would work 7 days a week, earn $30 to $50 a "trick," perform 8 to 10 tricks a night, and bring her pimp $375 a night. Most of her clients were nice to her, but some were "weirdos" who beat her and did not pay for her services.

Ann's pimp did not always treat her well. One week after Ann was placed on the streets to hustle, she came home tired and could not give her pimp his $375. He beat her and told her she could not come home unless she made her limit. Ann stayed with him because she loved him. All of her earnings went to him. In return he supplied food, liquor, drugs, and clothing.

At the age of 17, Ann ran away from her pimp. She knew she could run to a group home, but that was not what she needed. She was picked up by the Denver police and charged as a runaway. She turned her pimp's name into the police. The police told Ann about the rehabilitation program to help teenagers get out of prostitution. Ann went to the next meeting and has been in the program ever since. The program provided services to Ann which helped build up her self-esteem, find her a job, continue her education, and give her love and understanding. Ann said that the program is the only thing that has helped her.

Ann now lives with her uncle and participates in the program while looking for a job. When Ann completes the program in about a year, she wants to pursue a career in social work or cosmetology.

Bambi

Bambi's homelife consisted of arguments with her sister and mother, while her father irritated her because he did whatever her mother told him to do.

To escape from the arguments and become independent, Bambi first ran away from home when she was 12 years old. She ran away about three times and usually stayed with friends. The last time she ran away the police found her, charged her as a runaway, and

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sent her to a group home. Two days after she arrived at the group home, Bambi ran away because the people at the home kept her inside.

Bambi lived with five men after leaving the group home. She cleaned for them while they took care of her.

At 14 years old, Bambi went to live with a man. He eventually kicked her out, and his friend, a pimp, picked her up. She lived with the pimp for 2 months, after which he told Bambi he would treat her terribly unless she worked for him on the streets. He started her "working career" at 14 by getting her a job in a strip-tease club. Bambi worked there for a month, and then her pimp "promoted" her into prostitution. Bambi did not run away because she was afraid and she loved her pimp.

Bambi's first experience as a prostitute was frightening. Later, prostitution was something she had to do. Bambi tricked 3 to 4 times a night, 6 days a week, and charged $50 to $75 per trick. Most of her clients treated her all right and paid for her services; others beat her up. Bambi also received weekly beatings from her pimp for not bringing home enough money. Out of the $200 a night that Bambi earned for her pimp, she was only given $5 to $10. If she needed clothes or necessities, her pimp would take her to the store. Each morning Bambi's pimp would shoot her between her toes and on her legs with heroin and cocaine. It was her way of making it through another day.

Bambi spent 10 months on the street as a prostitute. One Friday night her pimp gave her the night off. Bambi spent the evening with her friends and then decided to stay with them through the weekend. By Monday morning she was too frightened to return to her pimp. She contacted her old case worker, who placed her in a group home. She was 15 when she escaped from her life as a prostitute.

While at the group home, Bambi learned about a rehabilitation program set up to help teenage prostitutes start a new life. She attended one of the sessions and planned to move into 1 of the program's 12 available beds when its doors opened in March 1982. Bambi said the services offered--such as people to talk to, a place to live, and job skill training--have helped her much more than the group home which was set up to help runaways.

Bambi at 15 years old is not sure what she wants to do in the future, but she definitely does not want to be a prostitute again.

Coco

Coco's parents were divorced when she was 5 years old. Coco lived at times with her father, two brothers, and three sisters and

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at other times with her mother and three other brothers. Coco described her life with her father as happy, but said she and her mother argued frequently.

Coco ran away from her mother about seven or eight times. She usually ran to friends' homes, and the police never found her.

Once when Coco ran away to a friend's home, she met her friend's pimp. Coco's was introduced to prostitution at 13 years old, when her friend's pimp shot her up with heroin and cocaine and forced her to walk the streets.

Coco's first experience as a prostitute scared her. She stayed with the pimp, who also worked with two other pimps, because she was dependent on drugs. She was beaten when she failed to earn enough money.

At 13, Coco was on the street all night working for $45 a trick until she earned $400 to $500, all of which was given to her pimps.

Coco was able to escape her three pimps and her life as a prostitute because one night she was picked up by the police and charged with prostitution. She told them she wanted to get out of prostitution, so they sent her to a group home. She also agreed to testify against the three pimps.

While at the group home, Coco was told about a rehabilitation program for teenage prostitutes. She attended a meeting and has remained in the program. She feels the services, such as counseling and help in finding a job, are helping her. The program is also helping her to finish high school.

Coco is now 13 years old. Her plans are to live with her 16-year-old boyfriend. His mother is trying to obtain custody of her.

Jackie

Jackie, one of four children, had trouble getting along with her mother. To escape the frequent family arguments, Jackie ran away from home twice to live with her aunt. Each time she ran away the police looked for her, but never found her.

Needing money, Jackie was told by a girlfriend how she could earn a lot of money fast. Jackie began working as a prostitute at the age of 16. She worked on her own. She knew she was risking a jail sentence or her life, but because she needed the money, she took her chances. During Jackie's year as a prostitute, she was never harmed; her clients always paid the $40 per trick.

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Unlike many other prostitutes, Jackie was not managed by a pimp, so she kept all that she earned. A pimp tried to persuade her to work for him, but Jackie remained independent.

Jackie's life in prostitution came to a end when, at 17 years old, she was picked up by the police. The police charged her with prostitution and sent her home on probation.

Jackie's probation officer told her about a teenage prostitution diversion program set up to help female teenage prostitutes leave prostitution, work out family problems at home, and obtain job skills for employment. Jackie agreed to enroll in the program.

WHY CHILDREN BECOME THE SUBJECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY

Reports on children in pornography disagree as to how their involvement originates. Some reports claim that children enter into pornography as a means of survivial after they have run away from home to the big cities seeking excitement, adventure, and escape from abusive parents or an emotionally deprived home life. Others state that children are enticed into pornography by neighbors, other children, relatives, and even parents.

One study stated that in many, if not most, instances, the children involved in pornography are "willing" participants. Pornographers are able to find "willing victims" because they offer friendship, interest, and a concerned attitude the child is unable to find elsewhere.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN IN PORNOGRAPHY

Literature shows that children involved in pornography generally range in age from 8 to 16, although some reports say that children younger than 8 have been involved. Studies add that many children who are the objects of pornography often come from unstable or broken homes; have been underachievers in school and at home; lack a loving, attentive home environment; and have been subjected to abuse and neglect. These children lack parental supervision and are often runaways who spend much of their time in public places, such as parks, theaters, or arcades.

THE EFFECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY ON CHILDREN

Literature shows that children involved in pornography can be psychologically scarred and suffer emotional distress for life. They see themselves as objects to be sold rather than people who are important. Some of these children feel dirty and unwanted and become bitter toward adults.

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Robbed of normal childhood experiences, such children grow up with grotesque fears. Many become cynical and exploitative and have difficulty experiencing normal sexual fulfillment as adults. Some end up as criminals, drug addicts, prostitutes, and adolescent parents. A Detroit police psychiatrist stated that children involved in pornography will grow up with no sense of modesty or privacy, no sense of the specialness of sex and the human body, and no moral sense. 1/

CONCLUSION

Generally, teenagers become prostitutes as a means of survival after they have run away to escape a poor home environment. Children often enter pornography for the same reason; however, some are enticed into pornography by acquaintances.

Characteristics common to many sexually exploited children are a poor self-image, underachievement at home or in school, and a low socioeconomic background. The effects of teenage prostitution and child pornography may be manifested in a number of ways. Generally, there is a loss of self-respect and emotional harm which may remain throughout the child's life.

1/Robert S. Amon, "The Last Porno Show," in The Sexual Victimology of Youth, ed. Leroy G. Schultz (C.C. Thomas, 1978), p. 291.

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CHAPTER 4

SERVICES FOR SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN

Many sexually exploited children may wish to leave the life of prostitution or pornography. However, they must locate service providers before they can avail themselves of needed services, such as counseling, crisis intervention, shelter, and job training.

The link may occur through contact with persons who have an interest in the children's welfare or through their own efforts. Services may be provided by special programs or local social service agencies.

INTRODUCTION TO SERVICES

One way that children involved in prostitution or pornography can be introduced to services aimed at assisting them in changing their lifestyles is through referrals made by police who have taken the children into custody for engaging in illicit sexual behavior. To obtain an idea of the number of children taken into custody for prostitution, we questioned the 22 police departments in cities with populations over 500,000.

The 19 police departments providing this information indicated that, for their latest recording years, 1,078 children were taken into custody for prostitution. Four of the departments advised us that 343 children were definitely referred to social service providers. We are unable to say how many of the others may also have been referred.

We also asked the 22 police departments to estimate the number of child prostitutes in their jurisdictions. Fourteen police departments responded to this question, indicating a total of 7,955. The 14 departments took 708 children into custody for prostitution during the last reporting year; therefore, only about 8.9 percent of the children estimated to be prostitutes within the 14 jurisdictions might have had services made available to them through their involvement with police.

We asked the same questions of the 22 police departments concerning children who were the subjects of pornography. For their latest recording year, 15 departments took 136 children into custody for pornography. At least 20 of these children were definitely referred to social service providers. Nine of the police departments that responded estimated that 1,185 children in their jurisdictions were involved in pornography. Within these nine departments, 104 children had been taken into custody. This indicates that only 8.8 percent of the children estimated to be involved in pornography in the nine jurisdictions might have had services made available to them through their contact with the police.

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Not all of the children taken into custody for prostitution or pornography will be referred by police to service providers. Those who are not referred, and those who do not come into contact with the police and want services, must look elsewhere for help. Other sources through which services may be obtained either directly or by referrals are social service workers and special program outreach workers. That juvenile prostitutes have had experience with the social service system seems likely. According to a study entitled "Juvenile Prostitution in Minnesota," 75 percent of the women interviewed had had contact with the social service system before they entered prostitution.

Special program outreach workers are persons who may be a part of a program, such as those discussed on pages 19 and 20, in which they mingle with the prostitutes to try to persuade them to enter the program and leave the life of prostitution. Several former teenage prostitutes told us it was important and effective to have outreach workers on the street to talk to the prostitutes and show them someone cares.

DELIVERY OF SERVICES

Youths involved in prostitution or pornography may receive social services from three primary sources:

--Shelters exclusively for teenage prostitutes.

--Shelters not exclusively for prostitutes but frequently used by teenage prostitutes.

--Social service agencies.

Although the types of service providers differ, teenage prostitutes can receive similar services from all three sources. The services are designed to meet the person's physical and emotional needs. Funding to support these programs may come from Federal, State, county, or private sources.

SHELTERS EXCLUSIVELY FOR TEENAGE PROSTITUTES

Shelters intended to serve only teenage prostitutes offer, at a minimum, food, shelter, medical care directly or through referral, and counseling. Other services commonly provided include legal assistance, schooling, and job training.

Through discussions with knowledgeable persons, a review of literature, and the questionnaires, we identified four shelters exclusively for teenage prostitutes. We were not able to determine if other such shelters exist. One of the four programs was new; therefore, little information existed on it. We did obtain program descriptions for the other three shelters--"New Bridge"

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in Minneapolis, Minnesota; "Chrysalis" in Denver, Colorado; and "Crossover" in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

New Bridge

This program provides direct services to teenage prostitutes in three phases. The first phase, emergency crisis services, occurs when a young woman first arrives at New Bridge. She receives food, shelter, clean clothing, and medical care. The second phase is a 3-month in-house program in which the youth is encouraged to receive such services as counseling, educational services, and medical services. The last phase, outreach and followup, calls for two outreach workers to maintain a 2-year followup plan on each former resident. These plans are intended to provide for additional support in the community to encourage successful independent living or return to the family as well as realistic vocational, educational, social, and recreational alternatives. New Bridge is supported with Federal, State, and private funds.

Chrysalis

Denver's Chrysalis, a residential program for juvenile prostitutes, has three components:

--An outreach program in which the staff spend time on the streets, meeting young male and female prostitutes. The outreach workers make the youths aware of Chrysalis and help them in crisis situations. The staff helps young males find housing and provides shelter to females.

--A 48-hour shelter for young women in crisis.

--A 1-year residential program, which provides a structured therapeutic setting, including in-house schooling provided by the Denver public school system and group sessions discussing job development, personal hygiene, and behavioral change. Group and individual counseling are available to the youths as well as their parents. The residential component is followed up for 1 year by providing weekly aftercare group and individual sessions.

Chrysalis is supported with Federal, local, and private funds.

Crossover

Project Crossover, a Milwaukee teenage prostitution diversion program, helps female teenage prostitutes

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--leave prostitution,

--work out family problems at home, and

--obtain job skills.

Although Project Crossover provides temporary shelter for a crisis period of a young woman's life, such as a time of family violence, the director has stressed that young women must learn to cope with their problems at home.

The girls in the program were referred through the school and the juvenile court system. Because of a shortage of workers, the program does not contain an outreach unit for reaching young prostitutes on the street to try to persuade them to join the program.

The juvenile prostitutes are requested to stay in the program for at least 6 months. The program provides such services as career development, sexual development, group therapy, and family meetings. Crossover is funded totally with Federal money.

OTHER SHELTERS USED BY TEENAGE PROSTITUTES

Teenage prostitutes can also use shelters that are available to a wide range of troubled youths. Services provided by these other shelters are often the same as services provided at shelters for teenage prostitutes.

All of the shelters we contacted offer, at the very minimum, counseling and emergency shelter. In addition, most offer medical services, schooling, vocational training, and hotlines.

The largest shelter we found for runaways, prostitutes, and other troubled youths is Covenant House in New York City, which serves over 10,000 youths annually.

Covenant House offers a wide variety of social services. Along with basic services, such as food and shelter, it provides other indepth social services. Covenant House employs a clinical psychologist and a health service director full time. Local hospitals also provide medical assistance. It operates an onsite alternative school affiliated with the New York City Board of Education. Other services available include vocational counseling and legal advocacy.

Entering a shelter is no guarantee a youth will solve his or her problems. At Covenant House, where the average length of stay is 2 weeks, 20 percent of the youths go home to their parents; 20 percent move to a structured residence (e.g., a foster home); 10 percent set up independent living; but 50 percent return to the streets almost immediately.

The president of Covenant House did not believe shelters should be run exclusively for teenage prostitutes. He believed treating juvenile prostitutes different from runaways would reinforce any feelings of guilt or shame they already have. Covenant House receives Federal, State, county, and private funding.

SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

Social services provided by local agencies are available to anyone, including youths involved in prostitution and pornography, meeting the eligibility criteria. Most of the city and county officials who responded to our questionnaires said their jurisdictions offer a wide variety of social services. The number of cities and counties providing selected social services is shown below.

	Of cities/counties responding to questionnaire	
	Number providing service	Number not providing service
Venereal disease screening	16	3
Family planning	16	3
Pregnancy counseling and information	16	3
Crises intervention	16	3
Telephone crises services	16	3
Personal counseling	17	2
Independent living support	12	7
Emergency food/clothing	16	3
Medical assistance	18	1
Youth advocacy with providers of basic needs	13	5
Legal aid	13	6
Employment counseling	13	6
Emergency shelter	15	4

Clearly, in most of the local jurisdictions in our survey, a wide variety of social services were available. Even a city such as New Orleans, which indicated that it provides only four of the services listed above (personal counseling, emergency food/clothing, medical assistance, and legal aid), noted that many other services are available elsewhere in the community.

CONCLUSION

Needed services appear to be generally available to youths wishing to leave the life of prostitution or pornography. Some youths may be referred to service providers through contacts with police or social service workers and special program outreach workers; however, many must find services on their own.

CHAPTER 5

FEDERAL AND STATE RESEARCH ON THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

Federal and State involvement in the problems of teenage prostitution and child pornography include research as well as services. We identified five current federally funded grants totaling almost $1.8 million dealing directly or indirectly with the sexual exploitation of children. In addition, six States were found to have done research on child prostitution and pornography.

CURRENT FEDERAL RESEARCH EFFORTS

The Department of Health and Human Services has awarded four grants totaling about $860,000 to study various aspects of teenage prostitution and child pornography. The Department of Justice has awarded one grant for over $900,000 to develop information on sexually exploited children. These research projects, their objectives, and their status are described below.

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, within the Department of Health and Human Services, awarded grants of $100,000 each to the Washington School of Psychiatry and Boston University's School of Nursing to study child pornography. The Washington School of Psychiatry study seeks to assemble psychological and social profiles of child pornography victims. The researchers hope the profiles will lead to services to prevent children from entering pornography and to treat children who have been subjects of pornography. The Boston University project aims to develop profiles of sexually exploited children, pedophiles, and producers of child pornography and to identify the organizational and operational levels of child sex rings. Both grants run through September 1982.

The National Institute of Mental Health, also within the Department of Health and Human Services, is supporting research at the University of Washington to study the entrance of males and females into juvenile prostitution and its relationship to early sexual experience, exposure to prostitution, and associated criminal activity. This $422,142 study is expected to be completed in August 1982.

The Department's Youth Development Bureau awarded a $241,447 grant to Urban and Rural Systems Associates of San Francisco to develop an indepth demographic and descriptive knowledge base of adolescent male prostitutes and to determine how adolescent male prostitution relates to pornographic exploitation and runaway behavior. The study has been completed, but the results had not been published as of March 1982.

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The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, within the Department of Justice, awarded a $933,655 grant to the New England Medical Center Hospital at Tufts University. The grant's purpose is to develop and analyze descriptive information on sexually exploited children from an individual, family, and community perspective. The grant will address a range of types of juvenile sexual exploitation, including intra- and extra-familial, prostitution, pornography, and juvenile offenders. The grant expires at the end of fiscal year 1982.

The medical center has been involved in treating emotionally and socially maladjusted children and adolescents for years. It operates a family crisis program and has conducted research on sexually exploited children. Only a few youths served by the grant program, however, have been involved in prostitution or pornography.

STATE-SUPPORTED RESEARCH

Through responses to our questionnaire, and our literature review, we found that research on the sexual exploitation of children had been done by six States: California, Illinois, Minnesota, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia. We obtained copies of the research reports for four of the six studies.

These studies are described below; recommendations they made are included in appendix III.

Report on juvenile prostitution in Minnesota

In 1975 and 1976 several agencies in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area that serve youths became concerned about how to respond to the problem of female teenage prostitution. Some agencies responded by offering supportive counseling and developing more diverse programming to respond to specific needs. However, most assumptions about juvenile prostitution were based on information collected through individual experiences; little basic data existed to support or refute that information. As a result, disagreements arose, program recommendations were challenged, and no means of resolving these issues could be found.

Enablers, Inc., a nonprofit agency that provides technical assistance and information services to youth-serving agencies in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, agreed in late 1976 to help resolve these problems by collecting information that could be used to make more accurate and effective decisions. A study was designed that included indepth interviews with 60 juveniles involved in prostitution, a review of juvenile caseloads in Minnesota, and the collection of data from police and court records on juveniles. The general purpose was to gather as much information as possible about the nature and extent of juvenile prostitution as

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quickly as possible. The project began on July 1, 1977, and was completed on September 30, 1978. A report was issued in 1978 detailing the study's findings.

The report concluded that:

--Between 150 and 250 juveniles were working as prostitutes in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area at any time.

--Many of the juvenile women interviewed had contact with direct service agencies, police, juvenile court, and welfare agencies both before and after they became involved in prostitution.

--The juveniles interviewed indicated that they worked as prostitutes on the streets most often, but also worked in saunas, bars, and hotels and as dancers through places that legally should not be supporting them.

--Of the juveniles who worked for pimps, (a) as many indicated they were introduced to the pimp through a friend as being contacted by a pimp, (b) their relationship with a pimp was volatile and usually short term (i.e., 3 months or less), (c) the pimp controlled most of the money but the women withheld occasionally, and (d) the women saw the pimps as protective, as managers, and as suppliers of gifts, while they saw themselves as supplying money and emotional support.

--The women interviewed did not seem to be involved in a regionally or nationally organized system of prostitution.

--Little forced travel was indicated. The women interviewed explained travel as a mutual decision to go on a trip either for work or for a vacation that involved working. The women said they usually went in groups, including other prostitutes, and returned in a few weeks to a month. Much of the travel was confined to the Midwest.

--Most of the women interviewed wanted to get out of prostitution.

The study made a number of recommendations affecting health agencies, police, the juvenile court, local government, social service agencies, schools, the news media, and the State legislature.

Report on the causes and control of child pornography in Texas

On October 19, 1978, the House Select Committee on Child Pornography of the Texas legislature issued a report on child pornography in that State. The report stated that pornography

sales in Texas totaled $41.7 million a year. Child pornography allegedly was no longer available over the counter, but a voluminous mail-order business existed. The Committee concluded that gaps remained in the Texas law, penalties were often too light, and many crimes were never reported.

The Committee recommended that various welfare and police agencies cooperate to control child pornography, that public education on the subject be improved, and that police receive special training. The Committee also made numerous legislative recommendations.

Report of the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission on the sexual exploitation of children

On March 23, 1977, the Illinois House of Representatives passed a resolution directing the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission to examine the nature and reported increase in child pornography and child prostitution. The resolution stated that: (1) 300,000 children were engaged in pornography and prostitution nationwide, (2) some parents had offered their children to film producers to make child pornography, (3) Chicago was expected to be a transfer point in the nationwide movement of children trapped into lives of sexual use and abuse, and (4) organized crime was involved in the national growth of sexual child abuse.

The Commission's investigation lasted 3 years. Its report, entitled "Sexual Exploitation of Children," was issued to the Illinois General Assembly in August 1980. The report concluded, among other things, that:

--No evidence could be found to substantiate the claim that 300,000 or more children were engaged in pornography and prostitution nationwide, although reports of sexual abuse have increased.

--Very few parents had offered children to pornographers as models.

--Chicago was not a transfer point for the sexual exploitation of children, and a nationwide movement of children for sexual purposes never existed.

--Organized crime was involved in the distribution of child and adult pornography; however, it was not, and had never been, involved with child prostitution.

--No large-scale organized production or dissemination of child pornography existed in this country.

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--Most of the underground sex-related journals child molester/pornographers have used to make their contacts were out of business.

--Most children involved in prostitution had chosen to do so on their own.

--Most offenders charged with violations of child pornography laws were allowed to plead to lesser charges.

--A correlation was found between early sexual experience, particularly sexual abuse, and child prostitution.

--Child molesters exchange child pornography through the mail, and many were able to conceal their identities through the use of remailing services or mail drops. Neither the remailing services nor the mail drops were capable of being effectively regulated or monitored by the U.S. Postal Service.

--Police had not developed an aggressive approach for dealing with sex crimes against children. Few police in any jurisdiction had the capacity to pursue child sex offenders.

The Commission made several recommendations affecting photographers, film processors, police departments, prosecutors, youth groups, parents, and service providers.

Report to the Attorney General on child pornography in California

During 1977 the California Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Obscenity and Pornography conducted a 3-month study of the problem of the use of children in the production of pornographic materials in California. The Committee issued its report to the Attorney General on June 24, 1977.

The Committee stated that, although it could not substantiate the Los Angeles Police Department's estimate that as many as 30,000 juveniles in Los Angeles were sexually exploited annually, it believed the number to be alarmingly high. The Committee added that most sexual exploitation went unreported and that the number of California children being exploited appeared to be growing.

In addition, the Committee stated that considerable public pressure and publicity had forced distributors of pornographic material in retail outlets to limit sales to favored customers. The primary means of distributing such material, the Committee said, was by mail order. The Committee also found a direct relationship between pornographic literature and child molestation.

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The report made 13 recommendations aimed at protecting minors from sexual exploitation. The recommendations included (1) support of legislation making law enforcement easier, (2) increased investigation and enforcement efforts against producers and wholesale distributors, (3) additional training programs for investigators and prosecutors, and (4) an awareness program for parents and the public.

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TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY IN LOS ANGELES

Documentation on the number of teenage prostitutes or children involved in pornography in Los Angeles could not be found. Los Angeles Police Department officials, however, estimated that at night as many as 65 teenage prostitutes, mostly male, are on the streets of Hollywood, where most teenage prostitution in Los Angeles takes place. The police department officials consider teenage prostitution a serious problem. No estimates were made of the extent of child pornography.

Teenage prostitutes in Los Angeles may receive some services from two privately supported programs designed specifically for prostitutes. Services may also be received from other sources available to all troubled children.

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

Commercial child pornography has almost disappeared from Los Angeles since the Congress passed the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977 on February 6, 1978. However, Los Angeles law enforcement officials assert that child pornography continues to flourish among pedophiles, who produce and use the material for their own sexual gratification.

Child pornography has declined as a commercial business

According to the Los Angeles Chief of Police, child pornography has drastically declined as a commercial business since 1978. Law enforcement officials attributed the decline in commercial child pornography to:

--More restrictive laws covering child pornography.

--Tougher enforcement of obscenity laws involving child pornography.

--Media attention which focused on the problem.

--Attitudes of juries, which have not been lenient toward defendants in child pornography cases.

--Banning of child pornography during 1979 in Sweden and Denmark, which had been major overseas suppliers of child pornography.

In 1977, some publishers and bookstores dealt in commercial child pornography. However, it was usually a sideline to their principal business of adult pornography. Because of the tougher

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laws, law enforcement, and prosecution, most commercial producers and sellers of pornography dropped child pornography as too risky to their overall businesses.

Commercial child pornography is defined as pornography that is produced primarily to make a profit. Noncommercial child pornography is produced primarily for the producer.

Inspectors in the U.S. Postal Inspection Service in Los Angeles told us they have seen a sharp decline in the amount of commercial child pornography being sent through the mail. Most child pornography being sent through the mails now appears to involve individuals exchanging the material with others.

U.S. Customs officials of the Office of Investigations in Los Angeles told us they saw 10 to 20 pieces of child pornography a day in 1977-79. However, only 14 pieces of child pornography were seized between January and September 1981. All seizures involved small amounts, not commercial quantities. The usual procedure is for users to send away individually to a foreign mailing address. It is rare for a commercial shipment to be sent to this country for resale.

Child molestation is a serious problem

The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, in a 1980 report, concluded that:

> "* * * a good deal of child pornography in this country is produced by the individual child molester, who usually makes child pornography for his own use, the use of his victims, and the use of a small circle of friends." 1/

Los Angeles law enforcement officials agree that individuals now involved in child pornography are primarily seeking self-gratification, not a commercial profit. Child pornography is often ancillary to the act of child molestation. Law enforcement officials stated that some child molesters are much more organized than most people realize and can be fairly sophisticated in obtaining children for sexual abuse.

The Los Angeles Police Department, in a document describing its Sexually Exploited Child Unit, said child pornography is the product of child molesters. During their sexual activity with children, child molesters take photographs and movies which they use for later sexual fantasies. The children who become involved with child molesters are often from troubled homes, where they do

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1/"Sexual Exploitation of Children" (Chicago: Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, 1980), p. 206.

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not receive enough love and attention. They are often unsupervised or runaways. The child molester gains the confidence of these children and often provides the only attention the child receives. The child then submits to sexual exploitation because of the attention received. The child, however, can sustain physical or psychological damage as the result of his or her relationship with the molester.

The detective in charge of the Sexually Exploited Child Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department told us that child molesters often trade and exchange pornographic photographs and videocasettes--sometimes to arrange for sexual acts with children. He cited two organized groups that openly advocate adults having sexual intimacy with children.

The detective said the child molester tries to become friends with a child so that he can sexually molest the child. Child molesters are often able to communicate at the same emotional level as a child, and watching a child molester talk to a child is like watching two children converse. The child molester also may only prefer children of a certain age range and may lose interest in the child as he or she ages. The child molester may take a photograph--often pornographic--to preserve a memory of the child at the age at which the child was sexually desirable.

California pornography law

According to law enforcement officials, pornography is prosecuted if it is considered obscene. Section 311 of the California Penal Code provides the following definition:

> "'Obscene matter'" means matter, taken as a whole, the predominant appeal of which to the average person applying contemporary standards, is to prurient interest * * * and is matter which taken as a whole goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description or representation of such matters; and is matter which taken as a whole is utterly without redeeming social importance."

Employment of children in pornography

Section 311.4 of California's penal code makes it a felony to employ a minor under 16 years of age to engage in posing or modeling for purposes of preparing a film, photograph, slide, or live performance involving sexual conduct. The punishment for a felony conviction is 3 to 5 years in the State prison.

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Recordkeeping requirements

A 1977 California law requires persons, including retailers, engaged in various activities related to the sale or distribution of films, photographs, slides, or magazines depicting minors engaged in sexual contact to keep, for 3 years, confidential records of the names and addresses of the persons from whom such material is obtained. The records are available to law enforcement officers on request. Failure to keep such records is a misdemeanor with a civil penalty not to exceed $5,000.

In March 1978, the Commanding Officer of the Juvenile Division, Los Angeles Police Department, commented on the effectiveness of the law in a letter to a State senator:

> "The record keeping portion of the new law is so effective that it has almost stopped distribution of child pornography locally. Local distributors do not want to distribute any type of material that gives law enforcement the right to inspect their records or visit their premises. The adult bookstores do not openly display child pornography at the present time in Los Angeles. * * *
>
> "Apparently, the only way to receive child pornography material in Los Angeles today is through mail order, a few scattered adult bookstores, or from individuals. * * *
>
> "It will be a monumental task to ever stop child pornography and the sexual exploitation of children, but I believe SB 817 has taken child pornography out of adult bookstores, vending machines, and newstands."

Enforcement and prosecution of child pornography laws

The enforcement of child pornography laws in California is the responsibility of the Los Angeles Police Department's Sexually Exploited Child Unit. Child pornography cases may be prosecuted by the Los Angeles City Attorney, the District Attorney of Los Angeles County, or the U.S. Attorney.

Sexually exploited child unit

In July 1977, the Juvenile Division of the Los Angeles Police Department established a Sexually Exploited Child Unit staffed with nine detectives.

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The detective in charge has noticed a sharp decline in the amount of commercial child pornography. The unit has targeted child pornography and will move swiftly against anyone suspected of producing or selling it.

According to the detective, adult bookstores in Los Angeles will not openly display child pornography that could be found obscene, and most will not sell it under the counter. Also, adult bookstores seem to have adopted a similar policy regarding pornography with children even if it is within the legal definition of obscenity--such as nude photographs of children with no sexual activity involved.

City Attorney of Los Angeles

The City Attorney's Office prosecutes misdemeanor child pornography cases in Los Angeles. According to an assistant city attorney, the number of misdemeanor child pornography cases prosecuted in Los Angeles declined from 20 in 1977 to 1 in 1981. All of the cases prosecuted during this period resulted in convictions.

The assistant city attorney stated that the stricter laws, tougher enforcement, and effective prosecution contributed to the decline in child pornography. However, he also cited (1) media attention to the subject and (2) the attitudes of juries, which are not lenient toward defendants in child pornography cases. Compared to the 60-percent conviction rate on obscenity cases involving adult pornography (usually involving bestiality or sadomasochism), juries have returned a 100-percent conviction rate on child pornography cases prosecuted under obscenity laws. Juries view child pornography as clearly outside community standards, and unlike in some cases of adult pornography, juries view the child as a victim.

District Attorney of
Los Angeles County

The District Attorney of Los Angeles County prosecutes felony child pornography cases. The District Attorney pursues a felony obscenity case against child pornography if (1) the child is prepubescent, (2) sexual activity as opposed to mere nudity is involved, and (3) the pornography meets the test of California's obscenity laws. A deputy district attorney estimated that, between March and September 1981, six cases of child pornography were prosecuted as obscenity. 1/

1/The District Attorney does not identify child and adult pornography separately in its recordkeeping system, but identifies all cases as obscenity. A breakdown of child pornography cases

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The deputy district attorney commented that most cases of child pornography are now prosecuted as child molestation, which is a much more serious felony under California law. Child pornography appears to have disappeared as a commercial business and is instead mainly being produced by child molesters for their own use.

A convicted child molester may also be required to register with the State as a mentally disordered sex offender. A mentally disordered sex offender is any person who, by reason of mental defect, disease, or disorder, is predisposed to the commission of sexual offenses to such a degree that he or she is dangerous to the health and safety of others. The deputy district attorney said that mentally disordered sex offenders are registered for life, and the names of such individuals registered in a given area can be obtained with a phone call.

The deputy district attorney cited the recent case of a nursery school operator. The operator was seized with thousands of photographs of child pornography, which appeared to meet California obscenity law criteria. Also, evidence was found indicating that the nursery school operator was molesting the children. The operator will be prosecuted as a child molester, not a child pornographer.

U.S. Attorney

The U.S. Attorney for Los Angeles has prosecuted one case of child pornography under the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977. The case resulted in a conviction. An assistant U.S. attorney stated the U.S. Attorney defers to local authorities in prosecuting child pornography cases when there are strong local laws and enforcement against child pornography and child sexual abuse.

TEENAGE PROSTITUTION

Law enforcement officials stated that, although the number of teenage prostitutes is difficult to measure, teenage prostitution is a serious problem--especially in Hollywood.

Police, probation, and social service officials told us that there were no government programs in Los Angeles specifically for teenage prostitutes; however, some officials believed such programs were not necessary because teenage prostitutes are no different from other teenagers with similar histories of troubled home lives and a poor self-image.

Some services directed specifically at teenage prostitutes are provided by two privately supported organizations. These services are primarily directed at getting the prostitutes off the street and providing short-term shelter and access to counseling and training programs leading to alternatives to prostitution.

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Teenage prostitution arrests in California and Los Angeles

California reported 13,459 prostitution arrests during 1980. Of these, 518 (or 3.8 percent) involved juveniles (under age 18). The following table supplied by the Los Angeles Police Department shows the trend in juvenile arrests for prostitution in Los Angeles City:

Juvenile Arrests for Prostitution City of Los Angeles

For the year ended Aug. 31	Arrests		
	Male	Female	Total
1977	50	84	134
1978	88	93	181
1979	62	99	161
1980	65	190	255

Teenage prostitution in Hollywood

Most teenage prostitution in Los Angeles takes place in Hollywood, a community within the Los Angeles city limits. Based on 1980 statistics, the Hollywood Division of the Los Angeles Police Department reported 167 (or 65 percent) of the arrests for juvenile prostitution in the city.

Los Angeles Police Department officials in the Vice and Juvenile Divisions provided the following description of prostitution in Hollywood.

About 25 to 30 female prostitutes work the streets of Hollywood during the day, and 60 to 70 at night. A high estimate would be 100 girls on the street. About 10 to 15 percent of the female prostitutes are estimated to be juveniles. The girls are scattered along a 5-mile area. Some call girl and massage services are operating, but most teenage girls are out on the streets and earning $35 to $40 for an encounter. Most girls have pimps and earn $300 or more a night. A prostitute is considered over the hill at 25 or 30 years of age.

Between 15 and 20 male prostitutes work the streets of Hollywood during the day and 60 to 70 at night. A high estimate would be 100 prostitutes. Over half of the male prostitutes are estimated to be juveniles.

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The male prostitutes generally work alone, without a pimp, and earn $20 to $25 for an encounter. A male prostitute earns about $50 to $100 a night. The number of male prostitutes on the streets increases on the weekend, when males drive in from the suburbs looking for thrills or easy money.

Solicitation for prostitution usually occurs with the customer inside his car and the prostitute standing on the street. The customer pulls his car up to the curb, and the prostitute approaches. An agreement is negotiated, and the prostitute gets into the car. The act of prostitution may be performed in the car, but is usually done elsewhere--in a motel room or the prostitute's apartment, for example.

The police have also identified other problem areas for teenage prostitution, including discos, restaurants, and game arcades.

An arrest for prostitution usually occurs when a nonuniformed police officer in an unmarked car approaches the suspect. The police officer engages the suspect in conversation, and if the suspect solicits an act of prostitution, he or she will be arrested. Police officers must be periodically rotated to prevent their being recognized by prostitutes.

The police officers view prostitution, along with burglary and drug dealing, as illicit street survival methods of teenagers on the streets of Los Angeles.

Arrest statistics understate the extent of the problem

Law enforcement officials stated that juvenile arrests for prostitution are understated. Prostitutes carry no identification, and juveniles are believed to frequently identify themselves as adults. An adult prostitute can post a $50 bail and leave, while a juvenile prostitute must be processed through the juvenile justice system.

California prostitution law

In California prostitution can involve three violations of the law: prostitution, pimping, or pandering. Prostitution is a misdemeanor, but pimping and pandering are felonies. Penalties for the violations are:

--Prostitution: imprisonment in the county jail for up to 6 months, a fine of up to $500, or both.

--Pimping and pandering: 2 to 4 years in State prison.

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Teenage prostitution and the juvenile justice system

Teenage prostitutes are introduced into the juvenile justice system by a police disposition, which is the action taken as the result of an arrest for prostitution. Examples of police dispositions for juveniles include: (1) handled within the department, (2) referred to another agency, and (3) referred to probation department or juvenile court. The most common disposition is referral to the probation department.

Police usually refer juveniles to the probation department

According to a probation department official, the police have three basic options in handling juveniles arrested for prostitution: (1) counsel and release the juvenile, (2) place the juvenile in detention at juvenile hall, or (3) release the juvenile to an adult and refer the case to the probation department. The last option is the most common. The police rarely counsel and release a prostitute, and a juvenile arrested for prostitution would not be placed in detention at juvenile hall unless he or she was believed to be dangerous.

How the probation department disposes of police referrals for prostitution

Other than filing a court petition, the probation department disposes of teenage prostitution cases in one of the following ways:

--Closed at intake. This means the case is closed by the probation department at the time the juvenile is referred, following an investigation of the juvenile's circumstances and nature of the alleged offense. No further action is taken.

--Transferred. Under this option the juvenile is transferred to another agency within the county, such as the welfare department, health department, or legal society or referred to an agency outside the county, including the probation departments of other counties.

--Informal probation. This option includes supervision of a minor, in lieu of filing charges, for a period not to exceed 6 months.

Juvenile court

In adjudicating cases involving juveniles in California, juvenile court could dispose of cases as follows: (1) dismissed, (2) transferred, (3) remanded to adult court, (4) placed on probation, or (5) sentenced to the California Youth Authority.

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The California Youth Authority is the State agency that has jurisdiction over and maintains institutions as correctional schools for the reception of wards of the juvenile court and other juveniles committed from justice, municipal, and superior courts. According to the information officer of the California Youth Authority, the agency has no programs for teenage prostitutes.

Probation

As of December 31, 1980, 14,193 juveniles were being supervised by the Los Angeles County Probation Department. Of these 14,193 juveniles, 8 were being supervised for prostitution. Of the eight, two were at home or in a community day center and six had a suitable placement order.

According to juvenile court officials, a suitable placement order is made by the court if the juvenile's home is found unsuitable. Suitable placement could be in a foster home or residential treatment facility. A teenage male prostitute is considered hard to place in foster care.

Government-sponsored programs for teenage prostitutes

The probation department uses and maintains camps and schools for postcourt treatment of juvenile offenders. According to a probation department official, a male prostitute would usually not be placed in a probation camp because of the sexual pressure that would be exerted by other males. Male and female prostitutes are occasionally placed at Dorothy Kirby Center, a coeducational residential school facility.

According to juvenile court officials, a prostitute may be placed in a residential treatment facility, which offers a small group setting with more intensive treatment than a foster home. We visited Rosemary Cottage and Florence Crittenton Services, which were identified by Department of Public Social Services officials as two of several residential treatment facilities offering good programs.

Rosemary Cottage

Rosemary Cottage provides residential treatment to adolescent girls, ages 13 to 18, who have serious emotional, behavioral, and social problems. These problems preclude placement of the girls in a foster home or living with their families. Rosemary Cottage has five facilities that can house up to 34 girls. The program includes structured group-living, intensive social work, planned discharge and after-care services, psychiatric and psychological treatment, and other services. The average length of stay at Rosemary Cottage, if the girl makes it past the first 30 days, is 6 months, but the girls can stay as long as 3 years.

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Florence Crittenton Services

Florence Crittenton offers a similar program and can accommodate 40 adolescent girls, but also can take 10 to 15 infants of the girls in residence. Youths must want to receive the services provided at these facilities since they may walk away at any time. Pregnant girls normally stay at Florence Crittenton from 12 to 18 months; nonpregnant girls stay 6 to 12 months.

Executive directors of both facilities stated that teenage prostitutes had passed through their programs. Neither felt a need for a special treatment program for teenage prostitutes. Teenage prostitutes exhibit similar characteristics to other girls, but have manifested their problem somewhat differently. The teenagers all tend to have troubled family lives, a poor sense of self-worth, and lack of responsibility to self and society.

Privately sponsored programs for teenage prostitutes

To see what privately sponsored programs for teenage prostitutes existed in Los Angeles, we reviewed studies and literature and found two such programs, which are discussed below.

Children of the Night

Children of the Night is a private program that provides counseling and temporary shelter to teenage prostitutes, especially females. The program is basically limited to the efforts of the executive director and some volunteers and mainly involves street outreach. A card is given to the female prostitute with a number to call for help. There may also be a brief discussion with the prostitute.

Prostitutes seeking temporary shelter are usually housed in the two-bedroom apartment of the executive director. The executive director estimates that she has housed about 250 teenage prostitutes since 1977. She also attempts to find placement at a volunteer's home if her apartment is full.

The executive director is attempting to find a permanent facility with residential treatment for the prostitutes without using government funds.

Confrontation Youth

Confrontation Youth is a project of the Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center in Hollywood. It began in the summer of 1980 with three full-time staff. Two of the staff were involved in street outreach to male prostitutes. According to officials at the center, the staff involved in street outreach go out on the street at night. They pass out street survival

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information to the male prostitutes, hold curbside discussions, and are available for counseling. They also function as a referral service to other social agencies. During 1980-81, Confrontation Youth officials claim to have moved 85 youths who have identified themselves as prostitutes off the streets and into stable living environments.

Confrontation Youth staff had compiled and examined 217 records of adolescents who identified themselves as prostitutes. Confrontation Youth provided the following description of the "average" male adolescent street prostitute:

> "He is between his sixteenth and seventeenth birthday, white, and probably uses drugs or alcohol on a daily basis. He has been arrested at least once for prostitution or some other petty crime and began his career on the street either as a runaway or a throwaway from his family. His two most common reasons for departing from the family unit are: parental abuse (usually connected to the alcoholism of one or more parents), or the parental abuse which resulted from the issue of his 'gay' sexuality."

This description differs somewhat from the model presented in chapter 3. The difference may be attributable to the fact that Confrontation Youth, a gay organization, mainly serves male prostitutes from the Hollywood area. Therefore, its profile could differ from that which exists in other parts of the country.

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TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY IN NEW YORK CITY

There is little documentation on the extent of teenage prostitution and child pornography in New York City. Law enforcement and social service agencies, nonetheless, regard the problems as immediate and major.

Since 1977 commercial child pornography has declined because of a State law prohibiting such sales. The child pornography available today is marketed through a small subculture of pedophiles who use it among themselves.

Law enforcement agencies assign child pornography and prostitution a lower priority than crimes like murder and bank robbery. Only a small number of cases involving Federal, State, or city child prostitution and pornography law violations are adjudicated each year in New York City. Efforts to enforce statutes governing sexual exploitation of children are constrained by limited resources and prosecution difficulty.

A wide variety of social services are available to troubled children under Federal, State, local, and private auspices. The most prevalent of these are the runaway shelters, which provide short-term services for runaway children. Basic services for runaways include meals, housing, counseling, and linkages to long-term assistance.

TEENAGE PROSTITUTION

Law enforcement and social service officials do not know the extent of teenage prostitution, but they consider it a serious problem. What little documentation that does exist suggests that some estimates are overstated.

Estimates of teenage prostitution are educated guesses

Although State and city law enforcement and social service officials do not know how many teenage prostitutes there are in New York City, they consider teenage prostitution a serious problem. Some perceive the problem as growing; others believe it has leveled off. None believe the problem is declining.

Estimates of the number of minors prostituting themselves vary widely. The principal sources of these estimates are dated material, limited scope studies whose results cannot be projected, perceptions based on professional contacts, and speculation. What little documentation that exists suggests that a smaller number of children are involved in prostitution than some have estimated.

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Based on their observations, the officers of the New York City Police Department's Runaway Unit believe that 400 to 500 minors are prostituting themselves on any day. Law enforcement authorities, however, do not record information regarding suspected prostitution activity.

An Assistant U.S. Attorney believed some teenagers work in sex establishments and are therefore not so obvious. Like others who work indoors, they are less likely to be arrested by the police's runaway and sex-related units than prostitutes who work on the streets. According to the Assistant U.S. Attorney, these teenagers usually pay their establishments 50 to 60 percent of the money that they make. Some authorities also believed that these sex establishments are connected with organized crime.

Estimating the problem's dimensions is also hindered because minors sometimes masquerade as adults. Most female prostitutes have pimps who dress them to look older and give them false identification. Law enforcement authorities believe this practice is widespread although they do not have data on the frequency of such occurrences. These children can be arrested and prosecuted as adults.

Social service agencies do not specifically record any prostitution history of clients. Such information is generally undocumented and remains confidential. One former gay advocacy group director believed that about 5,000 children under age 16 engage in gay-oriented prostitution in the city. Others in the social services system believe that up to half of the males served by runaway programs are engaged in prostitution. But there is no reliable way to verify these estimates.

Although few children are arrested for prostitution in New York City, police department officials still consider it a serious problem. Most children arrested under circumstances suggesting prostitution are charged with loitering, a civil violation involving a fine. Law enforcement and judicial system officials told us they are reluctant to charge children with crimes.

Each year, only 20 to 30 youths under 16 years of age are charged with prostitution, a misdemeanor. These cases are processed in the family court. Instead of arresting suspected teenage prostitutes on criminal charges, officials from the Manhattan Family Court and the Legal Aid Society told us that the police issue summonses to many children each year for "loitering for prostitution." They believe up to 10,000 such violations occur annually, although this figure is not documented.

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New York State law on prostitution

Article 230 of the New York State Penal Code contains the basic laws against prostitution. Under the law, a child prostitute's pimp could be charged with a class "C" felony for promoting prostitution in the first degree and, if convicted, could receive up to 15 years in jail. A child prostitute's customer can also be charged with "patronizing a prostitute," which is a violation. A violation is an offense of less severity than a felony or misdemeanor. It usually results in fines.

Enforcement of prostitution laws

The Public Morals Divisions of the New York City Police Department are responsible for enforcing prostitution laws in the city. In addition, the Mayor's Midtown Enforcement Project litigates cases to close establishments where more than two arrests for prostitution have been made in a year.

Manhattan South's Public Morals Division

The Manhattan South precinct of the New York Police Department has a Public Morals Division, which investigates all forms of vice, including gambling, obscenity, pimping, prostitution, and pedophilia. The division, one of six in New York City, has pimp, obscenity, and pedophilia squads. Sixteen police officers are assigned to the three squads. The Manhattan South precinct includes Times Square, where most teenage prostitution in New York City is believed to occur.

Pimp Squad

Established in 1976, the Pimp Squad attempts to weaken the influence of pimps by offering to help prostitutes (predominately female) get out of a life of prostitution. Identification of child prostitutes is incidental to the squad's mission, and it represents an insignificant portion of total arrests. Of 5,527 persons arrested on criminal charges relating to prostitution between January 1980 and July 1981, 15 (7 males, 8 females) (or about 0.25 percent) were under 16 years of age. In addition, 73 others (32 males, 41 females) arrested for prostitution were determined to be 16 or 17 years old. Combined, the 88 persons under 18 years of age arrested by the Pimp Squad for prostitution represented less than 2 percent of total prostitution arrests.

The Morals Division has pursued few cases against pimps because it is difficult to get prostitutes to testify against them. The Squad's effectiveness is also hampered by the State law requirement that a prostitute's testimony be corroborated in order to convict the pimp. As the pimp's chief accomplice, the prostitute's testimony alone is insufficient.

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Midtown Enforcement Project

The Midtown Enforcement Project of the Mayor's office was established in 1976 to clean up midtown Manhattan. 1/ It litigates cases to close establishments--hotels, massage parlors, and topless bars--where more than two arrests for prostitution have been made in a year. In January 1976, 147 sex-related establishments were located in midtown Manhattan; by December 1980, this had been reduced to 95.

Only two of the establishments--both massage parlors--were closed for allowing child prostitution on their premises. The success in both cases hinged on a 15-year-old prostitute's testimony. She testified that her pimp first arranged for her to work in one massage parlor, where she charged $20 for either oral sex or intercourse and earned $200 a night. The pimp later arranged for her to work at another massage parlor, where the fees were higher.

The juvenile justice system

Juveniles arrested for prostitution are processed through Manhattan Family Court and are prosecuted by the District Attorney. In cases involving the transportation of minors across State lines for prostitution, the U.S. Attorney's office would prosecute the offender.

Manhattan Family Court

The Manhattan Family Court handles child prostitution cases in Manhattan. The court views child prostitutes as victims and may place the children with a child care agency. According to family court officials, this court handles 20 to 30 juvenile prostitution cases a year.

The court becomes involved only in cases in which a child is charged with a felony or misdemeanor. Loitering for prostitution is a violation and is not handled by the family court.

When a child is convicted of prostitution, a misdemeanor, the court can:

--File a neglect petition against the parents and have a social service agency place the child in a shelter. This is usually an unlocked facility, where the child is free to come and go.

1/The Project covers 30th to 60th Streets in Manhattan, which includes Times Square.

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--File a delinquency petition against the child and put him or her on probation for a specified period. A social service agency will either return the child home or place him or her in a secured or unlocked shelter. 1/

--Place the child in a jail for juveniles.

The family court will return children to their home State at the State's request.

Manhattan District Attorney

District attorneys prosecute violations of the New York City Penal Code in their jurisdictions. We limited our inquiries to the Manhattan District Attorney's office because its jurisdiction includes the Times Square area.

The Manhattan District Attorney's office is staffed by six people, including two assistant district attorneys and two investigators who specialize in teenage prostitution and child pornography matters. From January 1979 through September 1981, the District Attorney prosecuted 25 cases against pimps for promoting prostitution of minors, a felony, under several provisions of New York State laws. Of the 25 cases, 6 were still open, 6 were dismissed, and 2 led to acquittals. Of the other 11 cases:

--In six the defendants pleaded guilty to reduced charges (a misdemeanor or violation) and received a fine and/or less than 1 year in prison.

--In three the defendants pleaded guilty to a lower felony charge; one received a 1- to 5-year sentence, another received 5-year probation, and the third received a conditional discharge.

--In two the defendants were convicted. Both received jail sentences; one was sentenced to 4 to 12 years and the other 3 to 6 years.

U.S. Attorney

The U.S. Attorney prosecutes pimps for transporting minors across State lines for prostitution. Pimps can receive sentences of up to 10 years in jail and fines of $10,000. 2/ In 1978, the latest year for which data were available, the U.S. Attorney's

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1/The secured facility is not a jail because the child is not locked in a cell although the entrance to the facility is guarded or locked. An unlocked shelter is not locked or guarded and the child can come and go at will.

2/18 U.S.C. 2251-2253.

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office for the Southern District of New York prosecuted nine pimps and convicted six. The jail sentences ranged from 2 to 6 years.

The U.S. Attorney's office provided a case synopsis on a pimp they prosecuted.

> A Columbus, Ohio, man began his career as a pimp while still in high school. He had an average of five to seven girls working for him at a time. They worked in Arizona, California, Hawaii, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, and other locations, operating on the theory that staying too long in one place increased the chances of detection and arrest.
>
> While the girls worked the streets, truck stops, and hotels, the pimp attempted to recruit new girls from topless bars, other pimps, and known prostitute areas. Witnesses related that the pimp beat the girls frequently to prevent them from running away or choosing another pimp and to ensure that they gave him all their earnings.
>
> The New York City Police Department's Pimp Squad informed the U.S. Attorney, in April 1981, that they had a 16-year-old girl who had worked for the pimp, quit, and was willing to cooperate.
>
> The girl met the pimp when she was 15 years old and working in Toledo, Ohio, as a topless dancer and part-time prostitute. The pimp convinced her and one of her friends to join his group and travel to New York. Before going to New York, the pimp stopped in Columbus, Ohio, and picked up another girl, who was also 15 years old. He had convinced her to go to New York to work as a prostitute.
>
> The investigation identified and located the 15-year-old whom the pimp had abandoned in New York, and she also was willing to cooperate. Both girls testified before a grand jury.
>
> The investigation that followed corroborated the girls' testimony, the facts were presented to a U.S. Magistrate, and a warrant was issued for the pimp's arrest. The pimp was located in Toledo and brought to New York.
>
> The pimp pleaded guilty to four counts charged in the indictment in July 1981 and was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment.
>
> Both of the young girls who testified against pimp lacked education, skills, and a family life. As a result, they returned to their respective hometowns and resorted to part-time prostitution.

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Runaways

Teenage prostitution is usually linked to the runaway population. In New York City, both resident and nonresident runaways gravitate to the well-publicized sections of the city. New York City's Port Authority Terminal, an entry point for many runaways, is located in Times Square, an area noted for its commercial sex establishments. Faced with the problem of supporting themselves, lacking marketable skills and job prospects, runaways frequently resort to street crime and prostitution.

The New York State Division for Youth estimated that there are as many as 20,000 runaways in New York City under 18 years of age. The New York City Police Department's Runaway Unit estimates that 16,000 runaways are in New York City on any day.

Many runaway and homeless youths become prostitutes to survive. Estimates on the extent to which runaways become involved in prostitution vary.

--The Police Department's Runaway Unit estimates that about 90 percent of the runaways apprehended may have been involved in prostitution.

--The New York City Midtown Enforcement Unit Director estimated that 50 percent of runaways engage in prostitution.

--The Director of Covenant House, the largest runaway shelter in New York City, estimates that about two-thirds of 14,000 runaways that the shelter had served since 1977 engaged in prostitution. Agency client data show, however, that only 11 percent of those served in the first 4 months of 1981 voluntarily listed their problem as being sex-related (i.e., sexual abuse or prostitution). Agency officials said that the data understate the problem.

Except for the self-reported client data provided by Covenant House, these estimates are undocumented.

These agencies, however, focus their enforcement or social service efforts in the Times Square area because the area attracts people who are interested in buying and selling sexual services. Social service agencies operating in other areas cite lower incidences of prostitution among the runaways they serve.

Social service programs for runaways

Although no government programs are specifically designed for child prostitutes, a wide variety of social services are available to troubled children under Federal, State, local, and private auspices. The most prevalent of these are the runaway

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shelters, which provide short-term services for runaway children. Basic services for runaways include meals, housing, counseling, and linkages to long-term assistance.

Runaway programs are funded by Federal, State, local, and private sources. 1/ The private sector has provided most of the funding for the programs in New York City. Some $6,067,000, or 83 percent of the total program resources during 1980, came from private sources and gifts. The Federal Government provided $344,000 (or 5 percent), the State $667,387 (or 9 percent), and the city government the other $233,625 (or 3 percent) of the total funding of the eight programs in the city.

According to the New York City Youth Board, 1,580 teenagers were served at seven of the eight runaway programs in 1980. The eighth program, Group-Live-In-Experience, did not provide data. 2/ The number of teenagers served by each program were: Covenant House, 242; Young People's Information Services, 101; The Door, 678; Noah's Ark, 51; Independence House, 189; Educational Alliance, 112; and Emergency Shelter, 207. These figures did not include the 7,360 teenagers who were served through Covenant House's drop-in crisis center--"Under 21."

Described below are two of the runaway shelters operating in New York City.

Covenant House

Covenant House, a nonprofit organization dedicated to the shelter and care of destitute children, was incorporated in 1972 as a child care agency to provide shelter for runaway and homeless teenagers. Covenant House operates two short-term residences, one for boys and one for girls. Each residence can accommodate 12 teenagers who can stay for up to 60 days. According to Covenant House officials, the two residences serve about 350 youngsters annually. During a youth's stay in a short-term residence, a social worker works with the youngster. If the youth's problems cannot be worked out in 60 days, the social worker develops a plan for long-term care or independent living.

1/Federal funding is authorized under the Runaway Youth Act, title III of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5701-5751). New York State also provides funding for such programs under the State's Runaway and Homeless Youth Act of 1978.

2/According to a City Youth Board official, Group-Live-In-Experience served 140 teenagers in its residential programs during January 1 through June 30, 1981. No data were available for 1980.

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Covenant House has a full-time clinical psychologist who tests and evaluates youngsters. Covenant House's facilities include a health unit staffed by doctors and nurses. It also has an agreement with a local hospital to provide specialized care regardless of cost.

Covenant House arranges vocational training or job placement. In addition, it operates an alternative school designed to provide basic educational skills. Covenant House's legal staff serve as legal counselors for teenagers who have to appear in family court.

Covenant House also provides the following after-care services:

--Referral of youngsters and their families for counseling at a clinic near their home.

--Counseling for youths making the transition to family life or independent living.

--Followup calls to the staff of other programs to which youngsters are referred.

In 1977, Covenant House set up a 24-hour, drop-in crisis center--"Under 21"--in the Times Square area. At Under 21, youngsters can walk in and receive meals, showers, and shelter for the night. The staff of Under 21 counsel the youngsters and may refer them for other needed services. At times youngsters may be escorted to a hospital or to family court.

According to Covenant House, many of the youngsters who come to Under 21 have previously supported themselves through criminal activity. They are able to make $200 to $300 a day soliciting, mugging, dealing in drugs, stealing credit cards, and shoplifting. The staff make it clear to the juveniles that Under 21 does not serve as a refuge from the law.

Group-Live-In-Experience

In 1967, Group-Live-In-Experience was established in the Bronx to provide counseling services for families and youngsters. By 1972, Group-Live-In-Experience had opened its first group home; in 1975, it received its charter as a community-based child care agency.

Most homeless youngsters coming to Group-Live-In-Experience are Bronx residents who have become alienated from their parents. Many of the youngsters have joined communes or cliques in the abandoned buildings of the South Bronx.

Group-Live-In-Experience operates seven residences--a crash pad facility where emergency care is provided and six group homes. Two of the group homes provide temporary care for youngsters, ages

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12 through 16, and work to reunite them with their families. The other four homes assist young adults, ages 16 through 21, in independent living. According to Group-Live-In-Experience officials, many of these teenagers are already parents.

Group-Live-In-Experience provides its residents with psychological testing and various forms of therapy. Its staff also work with children still living at home. According to Group-Live-In-Experience, over 1,000 children annually receive preventive services, such as crisis intervention, recreation, and casework.

In outdoor farming lots and greenhouses in the Bronx, Group-Live-In-Experience raises cash crops that are sold to markets and gourmet shops. According to Group-Live-In-Experience, over 40 teenagers have worked on the farms during the past year. The farms will provide many more jobs for Bronx youngsters when a mushroom farm and four greenhouses, now in the planning stage, are fully operating in 1982.

Group-Live-In-Experience also owns a thrift shop in Manhattan. The youngsters who work there get retail, bookkeeping, and merchandising experience.

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

According to an official of the U.S. Postal Service, commercial child pornography has declined in New York City since 1977 because of a State law prohibiting such sales. The child pornography available today is marketed through a small subculture of pedophiles who use the materials among themselves. In addition, because law enforcement officials have put a low priority on child pornography, few prosecutions are made.

Few New York City children involved in pornography

Few children are believed to be involved in pornography in New York City. Law enforcement authorities said that the number of children actually involved in pornographic productions may seem large, but the same children are used for different pictures. These officers also believe that most child pornography is produced outside the United States.

According to the former chief of the Pedophilia Squad of the Police Department's Public Morals Division, child pornography is no longer being sold openly at adult bookstores and other sex establishments since the passage of a 1977 State law prohibiting such sales. The available child pornography is marketed through a small subculture of pedophiles.

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The U.S. Postal and Customs Services are responsible for preventing pornography from entering the country or being sent through the mails. They do not, however, consider child pornography a high priority.

The Postal Service has only one inspector in New York looking into pornography. In 1980, he brought 20 to 25 pornography cases to U.S. Attorneys nationwide and an additional 20 cases to local district attorneys. None of these cases, however, has yet been prosecuted. Some of these cases involved child pornography, but we do not know how many because the Postal Inspector was not able to provide us with the case data.

The number of pornography seizures by Customs dropped from 15,020 in 1975 to 1,580 in 1980. A Customs inspector believed that fewer seizures have been made because of Federal pornography statutes, fewer Customs inspectors, and pornographers are using techniques like videotapes to produce and reproduce films domestically. Although some seizures involved child pornography, the inspector had no precise data.

New York State law
on child pornography

Article 263 of the New York State Penal Code states that a pornographer can be charged with the use of a child in sexual performance, a class "C" felony carrying a maximum 15-year jail term. A dealer in child pornography can be charged with "promoting an obscene sexual performance by a child," a class "D" felony carrying a maximum 7-year sentence.

Since 1977, under section 263.15 of the Penal Code, it has been a crime to promote or distribute a sexual performance by a child under 16 years of age, whether the material has been labeled obscene or not. These materials include films, photographs, and performances that depict sexual activity.

On May 12, 1981, in a 5 to 2 decision, the New York State Court of Appeals overturned section 263.15 on the grounds that it "infringes rights guaranteed by the First Amendment." Only if pornographic material is judged "obscene," said the court, would the promotion of such material be illegal. The State Legislature was working to amend and tighten the language of that provision in November 1981. The court decision is expected to have national implications because at least 18 other States have enacted child pornography laws modeled after the New York law.

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Enforcement and prosecution of child pornography laws

The Pedophilia and Obscenity Squads in Manhattan South's Public Morals Division are responsible for enforcing child sexual exploitation laws. During a recent 13-month period, the Pedophilia Squad arrested 30 pedophiles. The Obscenity Squad arrests very few children involved in pornography since its targets are the adult users of pornography.

The Manhattan District Attorney's office prosecutes violations of the New York City Penal Code. The U.S. Attorney's office prosecutes pornography cases involving violations of Federal law.

Pedophilia Squad

During the period November 1980 to November 1981, the Pedophilia Squad arrested 30 pedophiles for soliciting the services of minors.

Of the 30 cases, we reviewed 13 that did not involve informants. In nine of the cases, the subjects were charged with sodomy and endangering the welfare of a minor; in the other four cases, the subjects were charged with promoting an obscene sexual performance of a child.

The officers seized pornographic materials in 4 of the 13 cases. The seizures included 1,100 photo-slides, 44 reels of films, 9 magazines, and numerous color and black and white photographs. Of the 13 cases, 10 were referred to the Manhattan District Attorney, 2 were referred to the Queens District Attorney, and the other was referred to the Brooklyn District Attorney.

The following table shows the outcome of the 13 cases.

	Number of cases			
	Manhattan	Queens	Brooklyn	Total
Pending court action	1	1	1	3
Pleaded guilty (note a)	8	1	0	9
Conditional discharge (note b)	1	0	0	1
	10	2	1	13

a/In one case, the defendant was fined $100. In the other eight cases, the defendants were placed on probation for up to 5 years and/or recommended for psychiatric treatment.

b/The charges were dropped based on the condition that similar violations will not be committed by the defendant.

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Manhattan District Attorney

From January 1979 through September 1981, the Manhattan District Attorney prosecuted nine cases dealing with child pornography. Of these, five are still pending and two were dismissed. In one of the two dismissed cases the defendant pleaded guilty to a plea-bargained charge of "attempted use of a child in sexual performance," a felony, and was sentenced to 5 years' probation. The defendant in the other dismissed case pleaded guilty to "attempted promoting of an obscene sexual performance by a child," a class "D" felony. This individual was not a U.S. citizen. He agreed to leave this country, and the jail term was dropped.

U.S. Attorney

The U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York prosecutes sexual exploiters of children under the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977 (18 U.S.C. 2251-2253) and the Mann Act (18 U.S.C. 2421-2424).

Pornography cases are brought to the U.S. Attorney by U.S. postal inspectors and U.S. Customs agents. Postal inspectors' cases involve mailing obscene pictures of children, for which the maximum sentence is 10 years in jail and a $10,000 fine. Cases brought by Customs agents involve smuggling goods into the United States, for which the maximum sentence is 5 years in jail and a $10,000 fine.

The U.S. Attorney prosecutes cases against child pornographers only when he also has evidence of other criminal activities. In these prosecutions, child pornography is made part of the cases. The U.S. Attorney prosecutes fewer than five of these cases a year.

The U.S. Attorney had three basic problems in prosecuting a child pornography case.

1. It is difficult to prove that the child is under 16 years of age. The film or magazine often does not identify the child's age and the pornographer may claim the child is over 16.

2. It is not always clear what is obscene.

3. It is often difficult to find the producer of the child pornography since he can hide behind a corporation.

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PROPOSED SOLUTIONS TO MINIMIZE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

Our review of the literature and studies disclosed numerous recommendations that have been proposed to combat the problems of teenage prostitution and child pornography. We are including them to provide some ideas of what others believe should be done to deal with these problems. The proposed solutions involve many aspects of our society.

We categorized the recommendations into two groups: (1) those directed toward preventing teenage prostitution and child pornography and (2) those directed at rehabilitating children involved in prostitution and pornography. We also categorized the recommendations according to various groups to whom the recommendations were directed.

PREVENTING TEENAGE PROSTITUTION AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

To prevent the spread of teenage prostitution and child pornography, writers have recommended that

Parents:

--Instill in children appropriate values and ethics regarding sexual behavior.

--Provide children with love and attention.

--Obtain counseling to solve family problems.

--Carefully monitor the youth groups their children are involved in.

--Learn about the nature of the crimes of child pornography and child molestation.

Schools:

--Have sex education courses.

--Teach students how to live on their own.

--Promote discussions on how pimps recruit, train, and supervise girls.

--Take an active role in identifying individuals experiencing problems and offer assistance or refer them to agencies that can help.

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--Designate professionally trained staff to follow up on referrals of problem children and encourage family involvement in helping problem children.

Communities:

--Apply public pressure to deter child prostitution and pornography.

--Provide crisis shelters with counselors and simplified intake procedures.

--Provide job skills and improve employment opportunities for girls and end sex discrimination.

--Coordinate efforts to increase the skills of existing youth services in dealing openly with the sexual experiences of young people.

The news media:

--Identify discrepancies between the glamorous image and the harsh reality of prostitution.

--Educate young people about physical and sexual abuse.

--Educate the public about juveniles in prostitution.

--Publicize information about resources available to help troubled youths.

Legislators:

--Provide more sanctions against those who sexually exploit minors.

--Increase the effectiveness of present statutes for prosecution of pimps, especially pimps of juvenile prostitutes.

--Make it easy to prosecute customers of prostitutes, especially customers of juvenile prostitutes.

Law enforcement officials:

--Enforce prostitution laws more vigorously.

--Intervene at transportation points to identify and intercept runaways.

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REHABILITATING TEENAGE PROSTITUTES AND SUBJECTS OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

To rehabilitate those involved in teenage prostitution and child pornography, various authors recommended that

Communities:

--Provide comprehensive rehabilitation services for sexually exploited youths through long-term residential placement, counseling, job training, support during training, re-socialization, medical services, legal help, educational services, and intra-family issues.

--Organize resources to maximize the impact of appropriate skills and resources to return victimized children to happy, healthy, and appropriate lifestyles.

--Use street workers to get prostitutes off the streets.

Health care personnel:

--Actively promote increased awareness of the health needs of juvenile prostitutes and incorporate service delivery techniques that respond to their needs.

--Identify juvenile prostitutes through improved interview and intake procedures and address their health care problems.

--Increase awareness of available resources for juvenile prostitutes and actively refer individuals to them.

Legislators:

--Require film processors and laboratories that receive what appears to be child pornography to turn the material over to local law enforcement bodies or the State's attorney.

--Require photographers wishing to film a child nude or semi-nude to receive and maintain possession of a signed release from the child's parent or guardian authorizing such photography.

--Amend the civil code to provide for licensing of all children used in commercial modeling or performing, with carefully worded proscriptions and substantial sanctions against the use of such children in sexually explicit activities.

--Strengthen sexual assault and incest statutes.

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Prosecutors:

--Aggressively pursue convictions in child pornography cases.

--Be specially trained to ensure convictions.

Police:

--Develop a more aggressive approach to child sex crimes.

--Establish special child exploitation units to deal with the overlapping problems of child pornography, child prostitution, runaways, and child molestation.

--Clearly document and record both known and suspected cases of juvenile prostitution.

--Increase enforcement of laws that deny employment of juveniles in bars, saunas, and similar establishments.

--Stringently enforce laws dealing with fraudulent use of false identification.

--Receive training in the common backgrounds and problems of juveniles involved in prostitution and the community resources that are available to assist them.

--Provide routine followup of each referral to ensure that it resulted in some action.

Juvenile justice officials:

--Divert adolescents from the juvenile justice system to youth services to ensure that the juvenile does not have continued contact with the law enforcement community.

--Deal with prostitution directly, not through indirect, camouflaging charges.

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